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**The white man unburdened**

**Gen. John Bagot Glubb, recently kicked out as head of the Arab Legion in Jordan, is shown, hardly dry, after being sprinkled by Queen Elizabeth as a Knight Commander of the Order of the Bath. The load is being lifted off the backs of white pashas all over the world these days.**

***FIRST DISPATCH FROM ABROAD BY PETRAN***

# France attempts to stand on her own feet again

By Tabitha Petran
Guardian staff correspondent

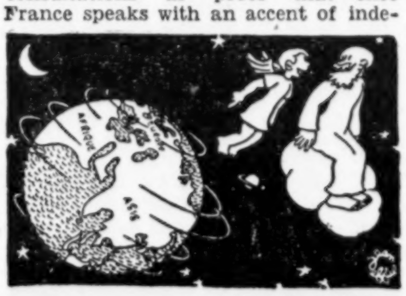
PARIS

"ONE MUST SALUTE the spring, however late!" This is the common French reaction to Foreign Minister Christian Pineau's recent efforts to affirm a French personality in world affairs. The "springtime of French diplomacy"—first clearly perceptible in Pineau's blunt criticisms of Western policy before the Anglo-American Press Club, Feb. 2—has bloomed slowly with:

- The decision to present a new French disarmament plan to the London meeting of the UN Disarmament Subcommittee. (Moscow has welcomed the plan as a basis for discussion; London has agreed after winning "modifications"; but whether it will survive U.S. pressure in the preliminary Western talks is another story.)
- Pineau's affirmation of France's fidelity "to the spirit as well as the letter" of the Franco-Soviet treaty, following his and Premier Mollet's acceptance of a Soviet invitation to visit Moscow May 14.
- The stress on France's potential "mediatory" role between East and West during the Moscow talks of former President Vincent Auriol and Soviet leaders.
- Pineau's meeting with Nehru in which he emphasized, as he later told the press, France's intent to respect the Geneva Armistice on Indo-China and its determination "to let no other country get ahead of it in the search for peace."

**QUICK RESPONSE:** These initiatives have produced an almost electric effect here. This response may in the end prove as significant as the initiatives themselves. For it has revealed how deep is the desire for France to speak in its own language rather than that of the U.S. State Dept., and how widespread is the irritation, extending even to the Right, over the American policy of demanding from France a military effort of which it is incapable. This irritation is sharpened by U.S. preachments against colonialism and its instigation (as is believed here) of rebellion in N. Africa.

French opinion tends to interpret Britain's "profound shock" over Pineau's original remarks and Prime Minister Eden's prompt request for consultations as proof that—once France speaks with an accent of independence—London and Washington can no longer leave its chair among the great powers empty. But if the picture of France restored to great power status is largely wishful thinking, it has been demonstrated that France begins to count in world affairs when it voices a French national point of view. And if France still remains far from the "new and neutralist policy" to




New Times, Moscow

**"What happened on the earth in 1955?"
"Oh, it reversed and began revolving around the Geneva-Bandung axis."**

*(Continued on Page 8)*

***THE RUSSIAN REAPPRAISAL***

# What about Stalin? A factual report and world reaction

By Elmer Bendiner

THREE YEARS after Joseph Stalin was entombed alongside Lenin in Moscow's Red Square a storm beat about his name more wildly than any he had weathered in his lifetime. In the whirl of fantasies, rumors and speculations facts were hard to find. This was the bed-rock of data the world had before it:

The 20th Congress of the Soviet Union's Communist Party last month opened with few honors paid to Stalin. Party Secy. Nikita Khrushchev casually listed him along with others when he asked the delegates to rise in memory of leaders lately dead. On the other hand, China's Chu Teh paid his respects to the "Communist Party founded by Lenin and fostered by Stalin."

As the Congress went on Khrushchev and others repeatedly condemned the "cult of the individual," seeming to blame it on Stalin, pledging themselves to "collective leadership." Two works were explicitly criticized: The **Short History of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union** and Stalin's last published work, **Economic Problems of Socialism in the U. S. S. R.** Other criticisms were more veiled: references to failures in the legal system of the Soviet Union, to a few specific miscarriages of justice.

**THE YUGOSLAV BREAK:** Stalin had been criticized by inference shortly after his death when his policy toward Tito and Yugoslavia was abruptly reversed. That trend was confirmed at the Congress as speakers repeatedly voiced the possibility of many paths to socialism. It seemed a tempering of Stalin's picture rather than a wholesale re-drawing; but between the lines arm-chair analysts were quick to read volumes. Sober observers detected a turning point in Soviet history but no violent spasm.

Paul Wohl in the **Nation** (3/3) saw a new stage in which "white shirts and business suits have replaced tunics and national costumes" and there was no longer a need for heroes and legends. He wrote:

> "Yet Stalin must loom big in the thinking of his successors, if so few—and in most cases only veiled—reference was made to him in connection with these innovations."

Lancaster in Daily Express, London

**"Selwyn Lloyd's quite right about the Russians' lack of candor—why, its taken them even longer to admit that they found Burgess and Maclean than it did for the Foreign Office to admit they lost them!"**

Kingsley Martin, editor of the London **New Statesman and Nation,** wrote (3/3) that he saw hope of bridging the chasm between Socialists and Communists in England:

> "If collective leadership and the supremacy of the party prove really to have been re-established in Moscow, Western socialists may be able once more to engage Communists in dialectical discussion."

**MALENKOV'S COMMENT:** Last week the Labour Party executive gave a dinner for Georgi Malenkov, former Soviet premier and now Minister of Power Stations, in which capacity he is touring British installations. Labourites said later that Malenkov answered the barrage of questions "frankly." Executive member Richard H. S. Crossman said:

> "He repeatedly said that they had cleaned up Russia. He was very earnest in trying to impress us that there had been a change, and that we should understand this clearly and believe it. He told us, 'We have effectively prevented a repetition of the dictatorship of Stalin.' Asked in detail how that had been done, he did not answer except by saying, 'We have done it.'"

**A CLOSED MEETING:** On Feb. 25, the day before the Congress ended, it went into closed session. No observers from foreign Communist parties, no reporters were admitted. Khrushchev made a 3½-hour report dealing with the Stalin years.

What was said and done at that

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# THE MAIL BAG

### Coexistence Party

BOSTON, MASS.

The article by Tabitha Petran on an Economic Bill of Rights brings up points on political action which support the idea of a Coexistence Party.

Staunch conservatives would be attracted to such a party. Enough of them are influential, nationally known and far wealthy enough to assure success when they sign up. I can provide some names, as can the many pacifist and other organizations as well as individuals.

After the list is compiled a carefully-written circular would be mailed asking for interest and support. Names on the circular should be as far from the Left as possible. Only on direct question would it need be stated that such a party would be insincere to exclude participation of anybody, no matter how radical. Some time and money would be needed to get out the circular but after that the Coexistence Party would be well under way. Anybody interested?

Norman L. Smith

### Failing wings

RICHMOND, CALIF.

We wonder why half our people do not vote in this country where people are supposed to govern. The real reason is they have found out that voting is a waste of time. Our two-party system has degenerated into one bipartisan party with two wings. Neither wing will advance a new idea because that would lose votes. Principle is excluded from campaigns as far as possible. The result is we are governed by money and not by people. Yours for restoration of the Republic.

J. N. McCullough

### Perpetual squeeze

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

Will someone venture to give me and the rest of the people an interpretation or explanation of just what free enterprise is? In the early 1930's we sure had a very good example of this when all the banks and big business corporations were in a dead-end street along with all the rest of the nation. They all raced to Washington to have the new President-elect, Franklin Roosevelt, do something for them. And as soon as the nation's credit had been used to restore a semblance of hope and faith, they turned around and began to call him a pilot of creeping socialism because in order to help them he had also to help the unemployed and the poor people.

Right now the economy of the nation depends upon the huge government expenditure for war material and so-called economic aid to every country in the world where our salesmen (meaning the diplomats and State Dept.) can get in. Now this is all paid for at very high prices with tax money. We also have several hundred billions of dollars in surplus agricultural commodities in storage which has been bought with tax money to keep it off the market. This holds prices up so the American working people have bought all this surplus, also they have to pay the high prices for everything they use. So they are in a perpetual squeeze: while the so-called people's elected representatives are trying to dispose of the so-called surpluses at any price at all or to give them away, to anyone except the people that really own the products—the workers and taxpayers of the U.S.

W. H.

### How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

CONFUSED CONGRESSMEN may get help with tax returns. The Internal Revenue Bureau hopes to publish a special booklet designed to untangle the tax code for the lawmakers who tangled it in the first place. Tentative target date: Sept. 1.
—Wall St. Journal, Feb. 29.

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: John Ptasznik, Bronx, N. Y. Be sure to send original clip with each entry.

### Point of information

PORTLAND, ORE.

Seeing that our forefathers left us a very liberal, sane, wonderful Bill of Rights, surely intending it to be used and cherished by us—we now, in this 20th century find that to use it means to be placed behind bars.

Would it not be interesting to get a definition from various members of the Senate and House and Earl Warren himself: "Just what constitutes being an American nowadays, please?"

Thank you.

C. L. Dresel

### Friendly criticism

NEW HAVEN, CONN.

Although the tone of your articles occasionally disturbs us since we feel that peace is not won by sarcasm or bitterness, and although we frequently disagree with the opinions expressed, we congratulate you on supporting causes which are too often neglected by the press at large—and we strongly feel the importance of your voice at a time when reactionary voices are trying hard to drown you out.

Name Withheld

### Armageddon

WILKES-BARRE, PA.

For centuries man has sought freedom. In the struggle for freedom man has suffered torture, imprisonment, untold misery, hunger and death. Man was crucified, thrown to the lions, burned at the stake, guillotined, hanged, electrocuted and sent into exile. Now man faces extinction. The enemies of freedom are ready to destroy the earth.

The character of the struggle for the Rights of Man must be changed. No longer must it be a struggle of issues, a piecemeal struggle for freedom. It must be a complete struggle for the rights of man. We can no longer afford to wait. The scientific achievement of man has brought man to the threshold of a golden age, also to the very brink of disaster. We have no choice if man is to survive.

The struggle for freedom must be carried to its completion. With victory, the slogan, "The Rights of Man End When Man Interferes with the Rights of Man," becomes the law of man. Then and only then will man be free. The present and the future are his. Man will have come of age.

Joseph Little

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### Litany

NEW YORK, N. Y.

From partisanship that sets votes above truth,
From loud, swelling words that mean nothing,
From vicious appeals to prejudice and hatred,
Good Lord, deliver us.
From every form of whipping up hysteria,
From the reckless assassination of character,
From dark betrayals of civil liberties,
Good Lord, deliver us.
From swelling avowals of devotion to "the people" while selling them down the river,
From political "realism" that covenants with crooks and gangsters,
From frenzy for victory even at the risk of endangering the world's peace,
Good Lord, deliver us.
—The Christian Century, May, 1952.
For '56, Amen.

A. Garcia Diaz

Lancaster in Daily Express, London

**"Normally Willy's all for the abolition of hanging, but every time he sees Liberace he feels there's a lot to be said for it."**

### Prophecy

HAVERHILL, MASS.

Old Perrault, the Shangri-La hermit in **Lost Horizon**, saw "the nations strengthening not in wisdom, but in vulgar passions and the will to destroy." He saw "their machine power multiplying until a single-weaponed man might have matched a whole army" and he perceived that "when they had filled the land and sea with ruin, they would take to the air."

"But that was not all"—he foresaw "a time when men, exultant in the technique of homicide, would rage so hotly over the world that every precious thing would be in danger, every book and picture and harmony, every treasure garnered through two milleniums, the small, the delicate, the defenseless — all would be lost.

"The Dark Ages that are to come will cover the whole world in a single pall; there will be neither escape nor sanctuary."

It will require an awareness of the danger, and action on the part of the people to prevent the awful fulfillment of the last part of this prophecy.

M. I. L.

### Sean is sick

LONDON, ENGLAND

Several readers (not to mention the editors-not-in-exile) have written asking me to do an interview with that most darlin' of men, Sean O'Casey, who lives in Devonshire. I am sad to report that Sean after two recent operations is still quite a sick man and can't see anyone. He is at the Torbay Hospital, Torquay, Devon, and I suggest that good, jaunty letters of the type that GUARDIAN readers are so good at would be greatly welcomed by him.

Cedric Belfrage

### Seldom excelled

DAYTON, O.

I think your efforts for peace and democracy in the world and America are seldom excelled. You have my most sincere wishes for ever greater success in the future.

Walter Lohman


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CEDRIC BELFRAGE *Editor-in-Exile* JOHN T. McMANUS *General Manager* JAMES ARONSON *Executive Editor*

ELMER BENDINER, Politics and The Americas. TABITHA PETRAN, World Analysis. LAWRENCE EMERY, National Affairs. EUGENE GORDON, Negro Affairs and Civil Liberties. KUMAR GOSHAL, World Affairs. ROBERT JOYCE, Art Editor. ROBERT E. LIGHT, Advertising and Buying Service. GEORGE EVANS, Promotion and Circulation. TIBA G. WILLNER, Los Angeles representative. MALVINA REYNOLDS, 1199 Spruce St., Berkeley, LAndscape 4-4289, San Francisco-Bay Area representative.

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***REPORT TO READERS***

# The Smith Act

THE SMITH ACT HAS BEEN on the books since 1940. Cornerstone of a structure of repressive legislation built since, it was designed by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and maneuvered through an unthinking Congress as a rider to the war-time Alien Registration Law. Its sponsor was Rep. Howard Smith (D-Va.), co-author of the war-time Smith-Connolly Act designed to bar labor from political action and proponent today of the manifesto of Southern senators and representatives against desegregation (see p. 7).

The Act makes it a crime to advocate overthrow of the government by force and violence, or to "conspire" to do so, or to belong to an organization accused of such aims. It was first used to jail leaders and members of the Socialist Workers Party in Minneapolis in 1941 (and incidentally to bust the CIO Teamsters Union there at the time). In 1948 it was invoked against the U.S. Communist Party leadership.

In all there have been upwards of 200 Smith Act indictments, over 100 convictions. Many others are awaiting trial. The Supreme Court refused to review the Minneapolis convictions in 1941 but affirmed the 1948 convictions of the top U.S. Communist leaders over passionate dissents by Justices Black and Douglas and with deep misgivings expressed by others.

Now the Supreme Court is preparing to take a second look at the Smith Act in the California and Pennsylvania cases and others are seeking reviews. At Christmas time Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and a large group of prominent citizens asked President Eisenhower to free all Smith Act victims in jails and to halt further prosecutions.

BECAUSE THE CITIZENRY FOUGHT, the Alien & Sedition Laws of 1798 (comparable to the Smith, McCarran and Brownell measures of today) lasted only two years. In the present crisis, the victims alone have done virtually all the fighting.

Now, however, there are signs of aroused concern. The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (421 7th Av., New York 1, N. Y.) has called a mass meeting at Carnegie Hall for Wed., March 28, to launch a broad attack on the Smith Act. In preparation, the ECLC has prepared an excellent pamphlet, with the theme of the meeting for its title, "The Smith Act, Its Origin, Use and Poison." We urge all who can to attend the March 28 meeting; and for all we recommend the ECLC pamphlet, 15c a single copy, 10 for $1.

IN GENERAL, THE U.S. PRESS has supported the Smith Act and denounced its opponents. A notable exception has been the St. Louis **Post-Dispatch**. Recently another strong voice was raised in the press, that of the Madison, Wis. **Capital Times**, published and edited by William T. Evjue, noted foe of Joe McCarthy in his home state.

On Dec. 28, 1955, the **Capital Times** carried a stirring editorial, entitled "Lincoln, Jefferson and Other Patriots Would Have Gone to Prison Under the Smith Act." Here, in good part, is what that editorial said:

• • • •

IT WAS INEVITABLE, of course, that the One-Party press would jump at the chance to assail Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt and other distinguished Americans for signing a petition asking pardons for a number of the top Communists in this country who have been sent to jail for their political beliefs.

The same element of the press that supported McCarthy in his marauding is now suggesting that the stand taken by Mrs. Roosevelt and others raises questions of their loyalty. It seems to us that if there is any question of Americanism involved it has to do with the grossly inadequate understanding of these editors of what the American tradition really is. . . .

AMERICA WAS GIVEN BREATH and life because the Founding Fathers believed in forcible overthrow of government, preached it and fought a war for it. They not only preached violent overthrow, they acted on it, as we know from the story of the Boston Tea Party, Concord Bridge, Bunker Hill, the Brandywine and the other unforgettable and unforgotten names of our Revolution.

We should be ashamed today of the Smith Act. Under it George Washington would have gone to jail along with the Com-

*(Continued on Page 3)*

CEDRIC BELFRAGE REPORTS FROM MANCHESTER

# Big rally in England demands Robeson get right to travel

By Cedric Belfrage

MANCHESTER, ENGLAND

YOUR EDITOR-IN-EXILE has gone a bit soft over this famous Lancashire city, to which he has made a long detour from his London childhood to find reasons for his first visit. Manchester is many things: the imperial textile center whose factory-owners fattened and qualified for earldoms out of expendable British children and colonial serfs; the cradle of a liberal school of economics which got lost somewhere; home of the Manchester **Guardian**, which looks in nine directions at once on a higher level than any paper in the world.

It's also the home of one of the world's great universities, and is situated near hilly moorlands of undeniable rugged beauty, customarily roamed over by sheep who have the sense to stay in their barns when the arctic March gales blow. I have barely survived a Sunday-morning moorland hike with three of the university's professors discussing the class structure of Britain, but it's all in a good cause.

**THE GROUND OF PETERLOO:** It was none of these aspects that R. W. Casasola chose to recall at our meeting here March 11, but the Peterloo Massacre of 1819 (when cavalry charged into a working-class demonstration, leaving hundreds dead and wounded) and the people's great Chartist movement of two decades later. Speaking at the first British mass meeting to demand a passport for Paul Robeson, Casasola said:

> "Here on the very ground of Peterloo, we are assembled in 1956 to ask that a little book be given to a gentleman with his photo in it and the statement that he is American by birth. Here where the Chartists met to map the first struggle for the free vote, we launch a struggle for the right of all human beings to leave their country at any time and return at any time. America must get back to the principles of the Mayflower pilgrims, who sailed from this country seeking freedom, before its name stinks all over the world. Who do they think they're kidding? If they were honest they'd pull down the statue of Liberty in New York harbor."

Who is Casasola? Belying his un-British name inherited from remote immigrants, he speaks with an accent as broad as Lancashire and typifies the best there is in class-conscious British workers. He is president of the 80,000-strong Foundry Workers Union and recently—with Manchester's Sydney Silverman, father of the anti-capital-punishment bill and defender of the Rosenbergs—was elected to the executive of the Labour Party. Nearly all of the area's top trade union figures, and all its Labour MP's except one, are on the sponsor list of the Let Robeson Sing campaign.

**ROBESON WAS THERE:** To the meeting in the jammed, 450-seat Free Trade Hall Robeson sent all he could of himself in a little box of sound-tape; he sang and spoke while his face smiled at us from a screen in the darkened hall. He recalled his last visit to Manchester in 1949 for a mass meeting for the Trenton Six, and on the GUARDIAN's behalf I was able to thank the good folk of this city for their support of that and the Rosenberg campaigns.

Horace Newbold, secy. of the Manchester Trades Council (co-ordinating body of trade unions), in making the collection speech recalled how he had received while visiting Moscow a cabled request to chair that Trenton Six meeting. He was about to visit the southern part of the U.S.S.R. but the Soviet government immediately arranged a special plane so he could return to Manchester. "They spared no expense and trouble," he said, "and I hope the American government will be equally generous with regard to Paul Robeson, the greatest artist in the world."

"LET PAUL ROBESON SING"
PUBLIC MEETING
SUNDAY, MARCH 11th, 1956
AT THE
LESSER FREE TRADE HALL
at 7-30 p.m.

THE COVER OF THE MEETING FOLDER

**A GREAT TRADITION:** Manchester is indeed many things, but for me it has established itself as the home of the biggest-hearted and most down-to-earth progressive community in Britain. These trade unionists, teachers, doctors and businessmen among whom I have spent an exciting weekend have no special interest in America. They reacted to the appeals for the lives of the Trenton Six and the Rosenbergs because they are concerned about injustice all over the world. Manchester has a small nucleus of GUARDIAN readers and when the word got around these people got to work.

The story of what they did in the Rosenberg campaign is an epic of progressive activity. I heard it from Mrs. Henni Goldman, a pre-war refugee from Germany (now British), who for four years acted as a messenger for the anti-Nazi underground between Berlin and Czechoslovakia.

Mrs. Goldman told me there is still £2 in the Rosenberg fund, and it will go toward a campaign to get Morton Sobell out of Alcatraz. A house meeting had been arranged to honor Sobell's mother on the eve of her departure from Britain to Italy.

**A BIG NOISE COMING:** The State Dept. is going to hear louder and louder noises from this part of the world until they release Robeson. In Scotland a broad committee is gathering petition signatures by the thousand. In the Manchester area a mass petition drive was announced at the meeting by Len Johnson, Negro ex-middleweight champion of the British Empire. The South Wales Miners Fedn. has for the fourth time invited Robeson as honor guest at its annual musical Eisteddfod (which this year will have an essay contest on the themes: "Does the popular press help to promote international understanding?" and "The role of the agitator today"). One of the two miner delegates sent to the Manchester meeting by the SWMF said: "Our executive was unanimous in deciding to send delegates. We are accused of sometimes not being in step with the rank and file, but on this we know we have the complete approbation of 100,000 miners in S. Wales."

Over a "high tea" of something British restaurateurs humorously call chop suey—recommended, bless her heart, by a GUARDIAN reader at a nearby table who recognized me—one of the miners said: "We want to see this thing become a national movement, and we think it's coming."

## What they said

"He is one of the greatest men of our time, above all a great humanist and internationalist—but the symbol of millions of victims of far worse persecution in Spain, in Kenya, in S. Africa, in Northern Ireland and many lands who get no publicity." —**Will Griffiths, MP.**

"A man from the American embassy came to ask me recently what British trade unionists think about America. I told him we loved the America of Roosevelt but are bitterly disappointed by the tendencies today." —**Horace Newbold**, secy., Manchester Trade Council.

"As a Liberal I cannot remain silent on the great principle involved here, the liberty of the individual. Robeson is a world ambassador, his art belongs to the world. America has robbed the world of him and imprisoned him in his own country." —**Vaughan Davis**, Manchester Liberal candidate for Parliament.

"This is an example of our complete humbug in claiming that ours is the cause of freedom. We have a precious heritage of freedom which the Russians don't have, but they are working their way up and we are half-way down." —**Konni Zilliacus**, MP.

"Any country that encompasses its boundaries with prison and injustice cannot wonder that hunger stalks the world. Our invitation to Robeson is to a great artist and humanist. We are going out to get the support of every cultural organization in South Wales." —**Ben Morris**, delegate of the S. Wales Miners Fedn.

# Report to readers

*(Continued from Page 2)*

munists, for certainly he believed in revolution by force. If he didn't the long winter at Valley Forge is a lie.

Certainly, Abraham Lincoln would have gone to jail under the definition of the "crime" spelled out by the Smith Act. It was Lincoln who said in his Inaugural Address of March 4, 1861:

> "This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it."

And Thomas Jefferson may have gone to jail for writing this statement into the Declaration of Independence:

> "Whenever any government becomes destructive of these ends (life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness) it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it."

THIS IS OUR DANGER today. We have lost faith in the spirit of freedom that gave this country meaning. In our hysteria we believe that ideas can be locked in jail, that we can smugly turn our backs on the spirit that made us great.

This fear of allowing Americans to speak their political beliefs has given us the abomination known as the Smith Act. . . .

History teaches us, of course, that this is the way of revolutions. Their glory is soon forgotten, as those who take power struggle to keep what they have. The financial Elite in this country has succeeded in making our revolutionary heritage unpopular, if not downright subversive.

But there should be no mistake made about who is better upholding American tradition—Mrs. Roosevelt and her colleagues or those who are attacking her patriotism.

• • •

IN SUPPORT of its views, the **Capital Times** quoted equally forthright statements by John Adams, Thomas Paine, Henry Clay, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry Thoreau, Wendell Phillips and President U. S. Grant.

It is a privilege to associate ourselves with the views of the foregoing, and to offer our services to the fullest in the fight to send the Smith Act and all the other modern Alien & Sedition Laws to the limbo they so richly deserve. —THE GUARDIAN

# *Is it really so confusing?*

THE LOGICAL STARTING POINT for effective action by the administrators of business to meet all the aspirations of the American people—and, incidentally, to meet much of the criticism of "big business"—is for them to clarify their own thinking about the fundamental nature and purposes of large business organizations. . . .

In the first place, the administrators of business can jettison from their talk about big business all implications which suggest that they, too, accept the stereotyped concept of the corporation. It is surprising and ironical that, to judge by what businessmen often say, one would think that they, too, agree that the nature of business corporations is exactly and precisely what critics say it is; namely, that the corporation has no other purpose, and recognizes no other criterion of decision except profits, and that it pursues these profits just as single-mindedly and irresponsibly as it can.

Consider the annual reports of corporations. It is not unnatural that people —critics, for example—should infer from what corporations report of their activities what it is they consider to be relevant and important to the companies and their stockholders. Even today, some companies report nothing but financial and technical operation data. This information, of course, is essential. But these companies do not also report, for instance, "We are glad that in the past year we were able to offer opportunities for their first self-supporting jobs to 537 young people."

When administrators of big business sometimes seem to share the same fundamental premise as to the nature of business enterprise, it cannot be surprising if critics take their statements as confirmation that the concept which is basic to their hostility is a valid one. The result is confusing to all—to the administrators of big business no less than the rest.

—*J. D. Glover*, The Attack on Big Business, *Boston, Division of Research, Harvard Business School*, 1954, pp. 328-329 (*Quoted in Harvard Business Review*).

RUSH YOUR TICKET ORDERS FOR THE GUARDIAN'S SPRING FESTIVAL AT CARNEGIE HALL. SEE AD, P. 9.

Chicago Defender
**He's always squawkin'!**

*COMMUTATION ATTACKED*

## Gov. Collins firm on sparing Irvin

FLORIDA Gov. Leroy Collins said last week there was no reason to investigate his recommendation that Walter Lee Irvin's death sentence be commuted to life imprisonment. Florida's Board of Pardons commuted the sentence Dec. 15. Judge Truman C. Futch, who tried Irvin, said he was ordering a grand jury investigation in response to three petitions signed by 121 persons, including the woman on whose testimony the prisoner was convicted.

Irvin and three other Negro youths in 1949 were accused of raping a white woman at Groveland, Fla. One of the accused was shot to death by a deputized mob. James Shepherd and Irvin were sentenced to the electric chair. Charles Greenlee was sent to the chain-gang for life. The U. S. Supreme Court ordered a new trial for Irvin and Shepherd. Sheriff Willis V. McCall in 1951 killed Shepherd and wounded Irvin "in self defense" while transporting them, handcuffed together, from a state prison to a new trial. Irvin was again convicted. The Supreme Court refused to grant a third trial based on new evidence presented by the NAACP. Appeals poured in on the Governor and the pardon board from all sections of the U. S.

**"SERIOUS QUESTIONS":** Gov. Collins said:

> There is nothing to investigate except Leroy Collins' judgment and conscience. Both are beyond the control or coercion of a grand jury. They are subject to review only by God and the people of Florida. . . . Right or wrong, I have serious questions about the guilt of Walter Lee Irvin. I cannot take his life."

Some of those questions arose in stories and editorials in the St. Petersburg (Fla.) **Times**. A **Times** reporter dug up new evidence used by the NAACP. A group of white ministers formed themselves into the Florida Committee on Social Justice especially to fight for Irvin's vindication. He has always maintained his innocence.

## Koppersmith runs in N. Y. for Congress as socialist

HAL KOPPERSMITH, former N. Y. State committee member of the Progressive Citizens of America, last week informally announced his candidacy for Congress in the 20th District of Manhattan on the "America Pioneer Socialist" ticket. He said:

> "I am a non-communist Socialist who believes that anti-communism is the road to insanity, inhumanity and the atomic annihilation of us all. I believe that we must build a united front of all democratic forces in America to battle the creeping fascist forces. I believe that we must return to the revolutionary democratic spirit of the New Deal—the spirit of experimentation in the free market place of ideas and action—the spirit that permitted the people of America to look at the future without fear."

Koppersmith lives at 166 W. 87th St., N. Y. C.

*WHAT ABOUT THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION?*

# The theory of a third party

**By W. E. B. DuBois**

WE ARE ABOUT TO ENTER a political campaign with no chance to express our opinions freely on the most important problems that face us and the civilized world. It was precisely to meet such situations that political parties were first suggested. A state without permitted differences of thought is a state with no freedom of action. To obtain concert of action men unite into parties. Unless there is freedom for such union, there can be no real freedom of action.

There is, however, nothing sacred about the number of political parties in a state. Logically there can be as many parties as there are differences of opinion. We Americans have come to think that a two-party system is a part of holy writ. Nothing of the sort. One party, two parties, three parties or seven parties may work. If a nation is in substantial agreement, one political party is enough; if not, ten parties may arise. The crucial question is how far the distribution of parties is effective in allowing public opinion to express itself and to direct the state.

**ONE PARTY—TWO NAMES:** When the United States was formed, political opinion fell naturally into two parties: conservatism of the old aristocratic methods of English history, and advance toward the new, broader democracy set on change. Then the situation altered. The age of Jackson pushed America toward wider democracy, but we found within democracy itself many differences of opinion: should persons vote, or property? Could labor be property? Should land be free to its tillers? Should labor unions be recognized?

Public opinion varied in every way, and the two dominant parties dodged and ignored these questions. So long as public opinion was satisfied with one party under two names, the question of slavery, land and labor could be ignored in politics. But when the South demanded the right to use slave labor anywhere in the nation, and Abolitionists demanded abolition of slavery everywhere, then a third party arose, demanding at least no spread of present slave territory. On this platform offered by a third party, a majority of voters united—and the Whig-Democracy was beaten.

**FOR WHOM DO YOU VOTE?** Today, most Americans want peace, lower taxes; less preparation for war and more for social progress. Shall we vote for Republicans when no Republican candidate opposes war? Shall we vote for Democrats when no Democrat stands for peace? If for neither Democrat nor Republican, then for whom?

Increasing difficulties have been put in the path of persons who wish to vote for any but the two dominant parties. Can we support the Republican or Democratic ticket when neither will support education, water control for the public benefit, or adequate security for sickness and old age? And when both these parties are trying to kill public enterprises like the TVA and give over public resources like oil, gas and water sites to private profiteers and public grafters?

If no conscientious, intelligent American can vote for either of the present parties, then for whom can he vote? Increasing difficulties face anyone who tries to form a third party. Examine the laws of states, made by collusion between Republicans and Democrats, which keep a third party off the ballot in any election; which threaten any advocate of a third party with disgrace, jail, or loss of occupation.

**WHY SO MUCH MONEY?** In most places no one but a Republican-Democrat can hire a convenient hall or hotel for stating his views; radio and television are open only to the dominant parties on equal time, and the theoretical custom of giving equal time to a third party is going to be absolutely forbidden as quietly as possible, by the Senate committee which is pretending to investigate bribery of Senators.

Moreover, why is so much money needed to support a candidate or carry on the election of a President? Why must a Presidential candidate have ten millions of dollars for the 1956 election? Why, if not for buying the support of lawmakers, courts and voters?

Finally, in one vast and fatal field, foreign affairs, we are today confronted by a demand which has become a peremptory order that we give up all vestige of difference of opinion and vote blindfolded as an inner government clique, in the employ of Big Business, orders us to vote. In our decision on war we must be "bi-partisan," which means we must follow the muddled greed of Dulles and Hoover or be blasted as "subversive."

Whither, in God's name, democracy in the United States?

**THE CHANCE IN 1948:** In 1948, we had a chance to put the Progressive Party in power. Had we done so, we would have had no Korean War, nor would we find ourselves as we are today, hated and feared by the vast majority of the human race. We used laws and lies to drive voters from daring to vote for Wallace; we even induced Wallace to fear the Soviet Union so abjectly that he lost faith in his own principles and we put into power the man who gave the signals for the killing of more innocent human beings than any other man in modern history.

It thus today becomes unpatriotic for honest Americans to vote for anybody but a warmonger. The voter is at the mercy of the organized political bosses of two parties, with huge funds and special privileges granted by Big Business. The election becomes a farce.

Fred Wright in UE News Service
**"Now it's getting so you can't even suggest dropping the 'H' bomb without being called a 'warmonger.'"**

**The nation should demand the right to put a third party on the ballot, under reasonable and equitable conditions. All enrolled parties should have equal access to organs of propaganda. Expenses really necessary for any party to take part in elections should be paid by government, and not by private contributions of those who use the government for private profit—and thus can give billions to control education, instead of making it a government duty. The exact sums spent on elections should be known to the public.**

**GO DOWN THE LIST:** There is another possibility which personally I am considering: that is, not to vote at all.

Eisenhower is not a person for whom I can possibly vote: he turned his back on the Rosenbergs and sent them to a shameful death; he has done nothing about murder in Mississippi or Alabama. He can catch bank robbers in New York in 24 hours. He has done nothing to implement the Supreme Court decision on education. He took an excellent stand at Geneva, but reversed it forthwith as soon as his boys got hold of him. He will not stop preparation for war nor reduce war taxes. I cannot vote for him.

I regard Nixon and Knowland as untrustworthy politicians of the lowest order.

I am glad that Stevenson can talk English. But what does he say? He is not opposed to war with the Soviet Union; he cannot open his mouth without slurring "communism"; he is fundamentally an anti-Negro Southerner like his grandfather.

I do not know what Kefauver favors, and I doubt if he does.

Harriman is a colonial imperialist who hates the Soviet Union as only a Big Business man can, and is ready to buy his way to the White House.

Dewey is utterly unscrupulous and responsible for the unspeakable burden of Dulles and Brownell. And so on.

**REFUSAL TO CONDONE:** There is no chance for any third party candidate on any platform to get his beliefs before the people. No first-class newspaper will give even a fair report of the opinions of anyone who does not hate "Communists," attack socialism, ridicule liberals and praise our "foreign policy."

What then can I do? What can you do? I can stay home and let rich tyrants rule, who now hold the power. The result of the election I cannot change, but I can at least refuse to condone it. I can stay home and let fools traipse to the polls. I call this sit-down strike the only recourse of honest men today so far as the Presidency is concerned.

## *Bright college years*

THE U. OF KENTUCKY last month expelled four students and discontinued their course of study. University officials said the four had enrolled "to learn how to become big-time gangsters" and had tutored two others outside the school.

In their first semester the freshmen, with their two extra-curricular associates, had made and exploded several bombs in dormitories, successfully committed 31 thefts of campus vending machines, sold marijuana and done field work in downtown Lexington, looting several storehouses.

They failed to note a federal agent rooming in their midst, and so flunked the course.

# The reappraisal of Stalin in Russia

*(Continued from Page 1)*

meeting no one knows for certain. Reports of it, ranging from plausible to incredible, have filled the world's front pages. The storm would not abate until the world knew what the 1,600 delegates to that Congress now know.

Reports—based on "diplomatic sources" or on no specific authority at all—said that Khrushchev sobbed as he spoke and some of the delegates fainted. These stories said that Stalin was denounced for ruthless purges, for a reign of terror, for leaving the nation unprepared for World War II, for military bungling.

It was known that large numbers of lecturers were being dispatched to hold meetings throughout the Soviet Union on the work of the Congress. From Moscow Welles Hangen reported in the N. Y. **Times** (3/18):

> "Searching debate and discussion are going on in thousands of homes and enterprises. The outcome of this ferment is impossible to predict."

**"BATTLE" OF TIFLIS:** The ferment seemed undeniable but rumor swelled it beyond the possibility of analysis. Tiflis, Georgia, was a case in point. All that is known is that on March 5, meetings commemorating Stalin were held in his home state of Georgia. Students participated, carrying Stalin's picture aloft. On March 9 the Tiflis **Zarya Vostoika** printed a page-one picture spread of Stalin and Lenin and an article linking the two. Those were facts. Rumor made headlines out of them, screamed of riots of police and troops firing on pro-Stalin demonstrators, of 3,000 Georgians being jailed.

Facts limped slowly after the rumors and the N. Y. **Times**' Harrison Salisbury said (3/18) of the "battle" of Tiflis: "The best diplomatic sources did not confirm these assertions."

Stalin's picture was reported coming down in Moscow art galleries but not in Murmansk, Siberia. Editors of the **Polar Pravda** were "inclined to sneer" when a **Times** reporter asked them about the alleged new view of Stalin. One of them pointed to Stalin's picture on the wall and said:

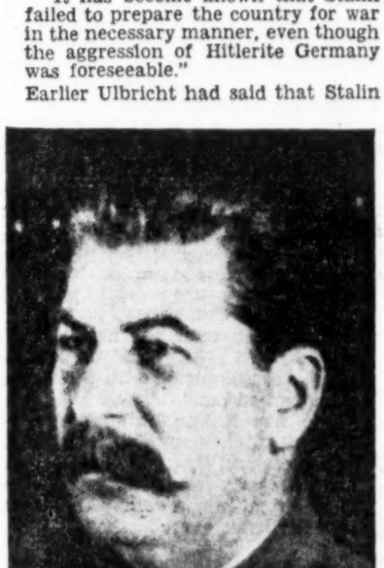
> "Look, that picture is not coming down. That stuff about his picture being removed from the Tretyakov Gallery [in Moscow] simply does not make sense."

**A GERMAN VIEW:** A Murmansk Communist who agreed with the fight against "the cult of personality" told the reporter: "You must not misinterpret what you hear. After all Stalin was a great man."

At presstime the only confirmation from a Communist source of what had been said at that fateful meeting came from Berlin where Walter Ulbricht, secy. of the East German Communist Party, charged:

> "It has become known that Stalin failed to prepare the country for war in the necessary manner, even though the aggression of Hitlerite Germany was foreseeable."

Earlier Ulbricht had said that Stalin could no longer be considered one of the "classics" of Marxism.



**JOSEPH V. STALIN**
*The center of the storm*

**THE STUDENT PROTEST IN SALONIKA AGAINST THE MAKARIOS DEPORTATION**
*All Greece seethed last week over the ruthless suppression of opposition on Cyprus as Britain turned the clock back 100 years. In Parliament Labour and Liberal MP's voiced loud opposition.*

**PRAGUE AND BUDAPEST:** The **Times**' C. L. Sulzberger (3/12) asked President Zapotocky of Czechoslovakia for his views on Stalin and was told:

> "Stalin deserves great merit for his fight against Trotskyism after Lenin's death. He also deserved great praise for industrializing the Soviet Union. Collective leadership reduces chances of mistakes. Individual authority has been criticized and remedied. But the process neither denies the merit nor reduces the role of Stalin. He will always remain a great personage in the Communist movement and in the history of Czechoslovakia's liberation. Our monument to him in Prague recalls this allegorically. Recent developments do not affect the value of this. We have no intention of altering it. . . . Masaryk [non-communist first president of the Republic] will remain a historical figure although his political ideas were different. Likewise, Stalin's memory is honored."

Hungary's Communist leader Matyas Rakosi joked with Sulzberger (3/19):

> "Everybody makes mistakes—especially when they get old. This was the case with Stalin. To measure a man's historical value you must be able to look backwards over a certain span of time. Your people thought Coolidge wise and strong simply because he didn't speak. Now he is no longer considered so smart."

**DUCLOS HAS HIS SAY:** Jacques Duclos, secy. of the French CP, said in a speech in Paris last week:

> "Naturally the enemies of Communism and of the Soviet Union will try to make people believe that from now on the name of Stalin will be erased from the history of the Soviet Union and of the international working-class movement and the role Stalin played will be completely forgotten. Nothing is further from the truth. What is true is that during a period of Stalin's activity the principle of collective leadership was not always applied. It is true that under these conditions errors were committed."

Duclos said "enemies" were trying to "sow trouble and confusion" by demanding the rehabilitation of "traitors like Trotsky and company. . . ."

**YUGOSLAVIA & ITALY:** In a different tone the Yugoslav Communist paper **Borba** said:

> "Efforts of the Soviet Communist party are concentrated on removing the remnants of Stalinism in all fields of Soviet life."

Another Yugoslav daily, **Politika,** praised "the courage with which the Soviet leaders are breaking into pieces Stalin's myth."

**Unita,** Italian CP paper, confirmed the fact that Khrushchev had spoken on Stalin at a closed session and commented that it was for the moment being considered an "internal matter of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union."

In Britain and the U. S. communist papers opened their columns to a free-for-all discussion on the new assessment of Stalin, though the outlines of that new view were scarcely discernible.

**THE DAILY WORKER:** The N. Y. **Daily Worker**'s managing editor Alan Max wrote: (3/13):

> "Many things bother a person like myself: where were the present leaders [of the Soviet Union] during the period when they say that collective leadership was lacking? What about their own mistakes in that period of capitalist encirclement? Are they giving proper weight to the achievements of Stalin? etc. . . . But we American Marxists also need to give thought to our own role in accepting many things about the Soviet Union which Marxists in the Soviet Union are now criticizing."

Max explained the behavior of American Marxists by the "atmosphere of rabid red-baiting" in which defense of the first Socialist state seemed necessary. Then he added:

> "But at the same time, we went overboard in defending things like the idea of Stalin as infallible, in opposing any suggestion that civil liberties were not being fully respected in the Soviet Union, in discouraging serious discussion and criticism of Soviet movies, books, etc. . . . All this—or much of it—could have been avoided . . . if we Marxists had stood more firmly on our own feet on these matters, as we have on the fundamentals of a Marxist program for America upon which the Communist Party has always developed its own answers and outlook."

**RING LARDNER LETTER:** Ring Lardner, Jr., one of the "Hollywood Ten," wrote a letter published in the **Worker** (3/18) in which he said: ". . . I, for one, am embarrassed." He called it

> ". . . questionable whether the American Marxist press should have reprinted, without qualification or critical commentary, so many of the cloying panegyrics which marred his [Stalin's] 70th birthday celebration. And . . . recalling the damage done in this country through leadership by personality, I wonder if some of the rather maudlin testaments to William Z. Foster on his recent birthday are really the most mature and effective way of acknowledging the respect due America's outstanding working class leader. . . .
>
> ". . . if the relation of forces in the world has so changed as to make Soviet Communists re-examine themselves from a position of strength, cannot some of the strength and independent critical judgment rub off on the American Left?"

**FOSTER ASKS CAUTION:** U. S. CP Chairman Foster in the **Daily Worker** (3/15) wrote it was clear that "Stalin made serious errors in his failure to develop a real collective leadership." But he asked questions:

> "What, if any, decisive political mistakes were made by Stalin? . . . What resistance was made in top official circles to Stalin's trend toward super-centralization? . . . Were injustices committed during the purges?"

He was confident answers would be forthcoming from the Soviet leaders and cautioned:

> "Meanwhile our task is neither to rush indignantly to the defense of Stalin nor to tear him to political shreds, as some in our ranks seem inclined to do."

Foster made no apology for failure to criticize Stalin's policies, indicating that Communist parties have preferred

> ". . . to rely upon the self-criticism of the respective parties for estimates of their shortcomings, rather than to indulge in general criticism from afar."

**NO MORE INFALLIBILITY:** In varying degrees, it seemed, Communists all over were ready to abandon the ikons and rituals of hero worship, drop the automatic defense mechanism which once seemed necessary, venture a disagreement with this or that doctrine of Stalin's, cast a skeptical eye on all pretensions to infallibility. But Communist comments—with the possible exception of Berlin's Ulbricht—did not reckon with the closed-session report of Khrushchev.

How long could that report remain a secret when lecturers were carrying its message up and down the largest country in the world? The world waited for an official text to expose the most garish rumors—or begin one of the most agonizing reappraisals of all time.

**Patronize GUARDIAN Advertisers**

THE CZECH FIVE YEAR PLAN

# How co-existence works under socialism

By George Wheeler
Special to the Guardian

PRAGUE, CSR

I SEE BY THE PAPERS that the experts predict everything from a 5% rise in production to a 20% decline for the U. S. Here things are quite different. The year 1956 started with the Second Five-Year Plan, a step-by-step blueprint of what will happen to the economy for the next half decade. The plan says "We will increase agricultural production 30% by 1960; we will increase industrial production by 50%," etc.

The plan tells in shorthand style how the entire country is developing and how the whole process, from investment to market, is geared to one end—raising the cultural level and the standard of living.

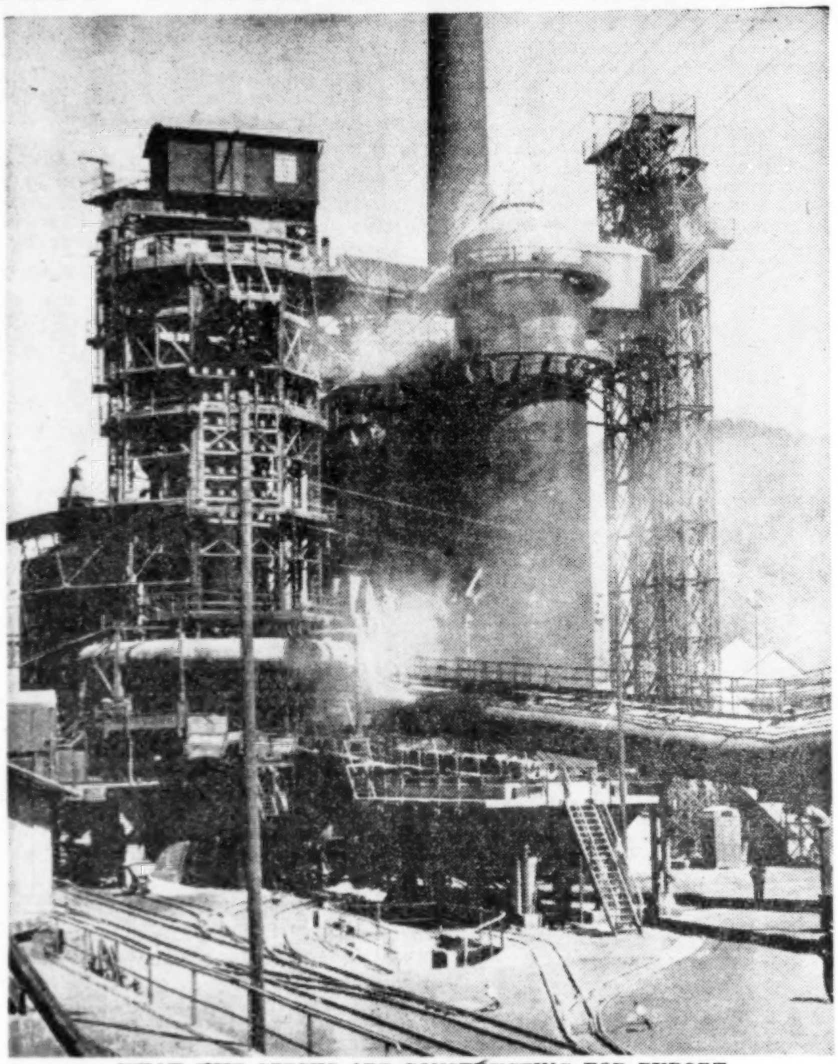
**WHY THE EMPHASIS:** A commonly repeated fallacy about Czechoslovakia is that it "neglects" consumer goods industries for the benefit of heavy industry. The facts are that heavy industry has been emphasized because that is the most efficient way of expanding consumption. The First Five-Year Plan emphasized steel works, electric power plants, coal mining, chemical, and heavy engineering and machine tools. The result today is that Czechoslovakia can turn out, with increasing efficiency, entire plants of different types for its own economy and for export.

As one example, the Czechs are constructing in Egypt—and training Egyptians to run them—a complete shoe factory, a large cement mill, a porcelain works and several pumping and power stations. The porcelain works will be large enough to supply all of Egypt's needs with enough left over for export. In return, Czechoslovakia gets fine Egyptian cotton which its mills need both for the rapidly expanding consumption of textiles in Czechoslovakia and for its exports of textiles.

**COMING AND GOING:** Czechoslovak planners calculated correctly that there would be an extraordinary demand for engineering products. These now form nearly 50% of all Czech exports. Sugar refineries are made in Czechoslovakia and set up in Indonesia; in return come quinine, copra, rubber and spices. Czechoslovakia trades factories and finished products to Latin America for coffee, meat, hides. Pineapple comes from China, sea fish from Iceland, cheeses from a dozen countries; Czechoslovakia is now the largest single buyer of citrus fruit from Lebanon. The list could go on for nearly all countries—except the U. S.

This expanding foreign trade reflects the increasing productive capacity of Czechoslovakia's heavy and light industries. It means that Czechoslovak consumers are enjoying a steadily widening variety which, unlike that enjoyed by U. S. consumers, must depend primarily upon imports. The Second Five-Year Plan will continue this program of expanding consumption through expansion of investment. By the end of 1960 these investments will make possible industrial production nearly four times that of 1937.

Each year's investment makes next year's output higher and makes possible both a further increase in consumption and even greater investments. This cumulative process is taking place with a balanced budget and a sharp deflation that takes the form of price cuts for consumer goods and raw materials. There is no element of crisis in the economy.



WHAT THE CZECHS ARE CONSTRUCTING FOR EXPORT
*A steel mill in Bohemia of the type they build abroad for others*

**CULTURAL RICHES:** The Czech and Slovak people have made good use of the decade since their liberation. It has been the greatest period of development of their economy and culture in their long history. Much skill and money have been spent in restoring cultural monuments, churches, theaters and museums, as well as new permanent orchestras, schools of music and arts.

Americans had just a sample of the rich quality of cultural life here when Gilels and Oistrakh played in major U. S. cities. For years now Oistrakh, Gilels and other great Soviet artists have played all over Czechoslovakia. We have had the Soviet ballet; Chinese opera, theater, magicians and acrobats; Bulgarian song and dance groups—an overwhelming series of breath-taking performances. This is in addition to fine Czech and Slovak artists, such as the Smetana quartet which has gone through Europe from one concert triumph to another.

What we do miss here are concerts by American artists such as Paul Robeson and Marian Anderson. What a warm welcome awaits them!

**TWO FIELDS LACKING:** Opportunities for all young people to engage in sports at little or no cost are expanding. The 1955 Spartakiade was a tremendous demonstration of Czechoslovak zest for physical culture. This is only one phase of a complete health, welfare and recreation program. The per capita amount spent by the government this year for these programs will equal an average month's wages.

There is complaint in two main fields: the low productivity of labor in agriculture and the shortage of housing. The agriculture problems are being tackled with two goals in mind (1) a higher level of technology and (2) more personnel to work on the farms. Despite the deficiencies crops reached new peaks in 1955—and farmers got premium prices for the extra production.

In housing there is a recent spurt in building—especially in Slovakia. But rents are so low, and the population is increasing so rapidly, that there is still a long waiting list for new apartments. Again new methods are being applied. With prefabrication, for example, a construction team erected a 40-family apartment building in Prague in 12 days, with a tremendous saving in manpower and costs.

**THE "LIBERATION" MESSAGE:** Czechoslovakia is entering the age of automation and atomic energy with confidence and great resources. During 1955 new schools were set up to train atomic scientists and practical workers. Within a few months the first atomic reactor, built with the aid of the Soviet Union, will start operation.

One can understand, from all this, the scorn with which Czechs of all classes greeted Washington's "Christmas message" renewing the pledge of "liberation." Even those who were better off under capitalism—and they are a small percentage—are repelled by "liberation" talk because they know it means war.

If more ordinary Americans could come to Czechoslovakia and see for themselves, the cold war would die an early death.

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"85% OF PEOPLE ARE DISGUSTED"

# Another Mississippi white man goes free in murder of Negro

COTTON-GIN owner Elmer Kimbell, 34, with a Negro field hand named John Henry Wilson in the back seat, drove up to Lee McGarrh's filling station at Glendora, Miss., just before dawn last Dec. 3. The car belonged to J. W. Milam, who, with his half-brother Roy Bryant, had recently been acquitted of kidnaping and murdering 14-year-old Chicago schoolboy Emmett Louis Till. Kimbell ordered the gasoline tank filled. When 33-year-old attendant Clinton Melton had finished the job, he told McGarrh: "Mr. Kimbell says he's going to kill me."

It came out that Kimbell, angry because the attendant had filled the tank instead of putting in only $2 worth, had called Melton a "smart nigger" and threatened him. John Henry Wilson begged his boss: "Don't shoot him. He didn't do anything." Wilson in turn was threatened and ran for his life. Then Kimbell shot Melton dead. He told Sheriff H. C. Strider he was fired on three times before he killed Melton. Strider, who had testified for the defense in the Milam-Bryant trial, agreed with Wilson and McGarrh that there had been no gun on Melton.

**TOWN AROUSED:** The story of this killing was the fourth in Mississippi in seven months to become known. The crime was so hushed, however, that this one was five days breaking through. Local whites expressed concern over it, not only because of the notoriety but because Melton had been "highly respected." Glendora's Lions Club pres. J. R. Flautt told the press the whole community was aroused over this

"... outrage against [Clinton Melton], against all the people of Glendora, against the people of Mississippi as well as against the entire human family."

The press services made much of the fact that "a white man" had been indicted for killing a Negro in Mississippi. A hearing was scheduled for the next week but was postponed to give Kimbell "more time to find a lawyer," according to the sheriff.

The killer went on trial March 12 in the same courtroom in which Milam and Bryant had been tried and acquitted. Field-hand Wilson testified to having begged his employer not to shoot the unarmed Melton. Filling station owner McGarrh, mercilessly cross-examined by defense lawyer J. W. Kellum, held to his story that Kimbell had been drinking, that Melton, a model worker, was unarmed, and that Kimbell had threatened to kill the attendant. George Woodson, a second Negro workman, also testified that Melton was unarmed.

**SHOULD HAVE KNOWN:** Kimbell on the stand said all the prosecution witnesses were liars. He was shot at twice, he said (having earlier said three times) before he fired in the dark "at the place where the shots came from." His lawyer exhorted the all-white jury:

"Thirty-five years ago a mother almost lost her life giving birth to that boy, and she believed he was being born into the land of the free and the home of the brave. But if you find him guilty on this slimy testimony, she will look down and ask, 'Where is that land of the free and home of the brave?'"

The jury, after four hours' thinking about it, came back with a not-guilty verdict. Kimbell told reporters he had been a little worried, not having been sure he would get "justice." He said:

"I didn't know what to expect before the verdict. Everything I said on the witness stand was the truth, but I wasn't sure the jury would believe me. I should have known."

Flautt said after the acquittal: "I'd say that 85% of the people in this community are disgusted with the way the thing turned out."

The five Melton children are now orphans. Their mother, 33, was trapped in her car and drowned when—according to reports from Mississippi—it ran off the road into a swamp the day before the trial.

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*THE SCHUCHMAN CASE—PART II*

# What happened to that family from Tiffin, Ohio

LAST JAN. 30 the GUARDIAN told how the FBI and a combination of petty meanness, fear and bigotry in Tiffin, Ohio, destroyed the usefulness of psychiatric social worker Herman Philip Schuchman. Schuchman with his wife and their three children came from Utica, N.Y., to work at the Oneida County Child Guidance Clinic in Tiffin. The FBI had asked the Schuchmans for information about friends and associates in Utica. They refused and the FBI passed on warnings to Ohio officials. The Schuchmans soon found themselves battling a smog of rumors. Campaigns mushroomed demanding that they "clear" themselves though nobody charged them with anything. Last November the State Dept. of Mental Hygiene, while deploring the desperate lack of skilled manpower in mental hygiene, wiped out Schuchman's job. It was the easiest way to get rid of him without a hearing.

The American Civil Liberties Union and the Toledo Bar Assn. offered to help the Schuchmans in a pending suit against John Porterfield, head of the Mental Hygiene Dept. In the meantime Philip Schuchman took a job sweeping floors in a factory in Tiffin.

**THE LETTERS CAME:** After the GUARDIAN story letters came from all parts of the country to the GUARDIAN, the Schuchmans and Dr. Porterfield who had devised a form letter to handle the protests. It said that "public opinion in the community" had rendered Schuchman's work ineffective. (Actually the clinic's case load never dropped.) He was therefore fired "on the basis of unfitness for duty in the incumbent situation without personal prejudice." Dr. Porterfield closed by remarking irrelevantly:

"It is interesting to notice that all of the individuals who have reacted to this situation to the extent of writing me live in or around the metropolitan centers of New York, California and Florida."

Last week Marilyn Schuchman wrote to the GUARDIAN to bring the story up to date:

WE WANT TO THANK YOU for Elmer Bendiner's story about us in the Jan. 30 GUARDIAN. It was beautifully and completely done and we have gotten many good responses and results from it.

You will note we are now in Minnesota. Some time before the story appeared in the GUARDIAN, my husband was fired from his factory job. The reasons were ridiculous and we are pretty certain it was part and parcel of our whole situation, that brought his firing about. The time was drawing closer to the 15th of February when we were due to be out of our house.

We looked around for work within a 50-mile radius, including Toledo, which was laying off around that time instead of hiring. We had to admit we had reached the end of our rope financially and emotionally and while we would have preferred Toledo, found ourselves considering moves to other areas as well. We had the advantage of having friends here in St. Paul with a home and hearts big enough to take us in until we had some income. There are many agencies which offer the potential of jobs for Herman, and he is also near the University, which has given him much real help and encouragement.

Before we left Ohio our petition was entered in the Court of Appeals and it is now a matter of time. We are in touch with the persons who contacted us through the story, sent out a letter-writing call to a large number of people in Ohio, and the group in Tiffin is showing a lot of promise in the direction of forming an ACLU chapter which, for that town, would be tremendous.

**BASIC TO THE FIGHT:** When we left Tiffin, we were given a farewell party by about 15 people who had remained the closest to us. It was a wonderful tribute with much of the sentiment being concentrated on what they had gotten from the experience and from our standing firm in fighting it. At the party were the widest divergence in age, occupation, religion; but all agreed on what we feel is basic to all fights for civil rights and peace, that is, common human decency and feeling for people.

We had many experiences with those who were too scared to be human, who closed their eyes to much of what was rampant before their eyes. We felt strongly that this was what must have happened in Germany when people protested that they did not know that bodies were being burned just a few miles away from their town, and closed their eyes to the many other horrors so rampant. Fortunately for us all there are many who do not shut their eyes, and their numbers are growing daily.

Thank you again for all you have done for us and for the fight against the oppressors. We will continue to keep the faith with the many who have supported us by continuing to fight.

—Marilyn Schuchman

*"A GRAVE CRISIS" DEVELOPING*

# Southern 'manifesto' runs into a storm in Congress

By Eugene Gordon

NINETEEN SENATORS and 77 Representatives from the South issued a "Declaration of Constitutional Principles" on March 11. It pledged the signers "to use all lawful means to bring about a reversal of this [U.S. Supreme Court 1954 anti-jimcrow school] decision which is contrary to the Constitution and to prevent the use of force in its implementation." The manifesto called the decision "a clear abuse of judicial power" and charged that the high court, in upsetting the "separate but equal" doctrine, exercised "naked judicial power," interfering with something which had been "a part of the life of the people of many of the states and [had] confirmed their habits, customs, traditions and way of life." The document said the Supreme Court is thus

"... creating chaos and confusion in the states principally affected [and is] destroying the amicable relations between the white and Negro races that have been created through 90 years of patient effort by the good people of both races, [planting] hatred and suspicion where there has been heretofore friendship and understanding."

**KEFAUVER REFUSES:** Senate majority leader Lyndon Johnson of Texas did not sign because, he said, the manifesto had not been shown to him. A colleague said the reason was that Johnson "has to work with all sides" in the Senate. Neither did Sens. Estes Kefauver and Albert Gore (D-Tenn.) sign. Kefauver said:

"My position is well known. The Supreme Court has decided and that decision is the law of the land."

Georgia Sen. Walter F. George was said to have inspired and developed the declaration. Meetings were held in his office. Sen. Strom Thurmond of S. Carolina was credited with supplying most of the material. It was put together by Sens. Richard B. Russell (Ga.), J. William Fulbright (Ark.), Price Daniel (Tex.), John Stennis (Miss.) and Thurmond, all lawyers.

Because George seldom has made public statements on the race issue, his role was a surprise to many. It was explained on the ground that his opponent for the seat he has held since 1932 is white-supremacist Ex-Gov. Herman Talmadge. Talmadge has charged that George is not interested in his white constituents' welfare.

All signers were Democrats except Virginia's two Republican Representatives.

**ATTACKED IN SENATE:** The manifesto was attacked on the Senate floor March 12, immediately after George had finished reading it. By then it had 100 signers. Sen. Paul Douglas (D-Ill.) said the Supreme Court

"... properly recognized that when school children are segregated on the basis of race, a deep stigma is imposed upon the [Negro and Mexican] children ... which will last through life."

Referring to the manifesto's repeated avowal of "lawful" means, Douglas said the document could "encourage those who will not be so meticulous about law and order." He said:

"I hope that those who urge resistance to the court's order will recognize that others of us with equal conviction and sincerity believe that the law of the land and the basic principles of our religion and our democracy, as well as the clear needs of our foreign policy, require strong support of the court's ruling."

Sen. Wayne Morse (D-Ore.) foresaw Congress' need

"... to decide whether or not we are going to follow the Supreme Court decision recognizing [its] supremacy in protecting the American people in their constitutional rights."

Joseph L. Rauh Jr., national chairman of Americans for Democratic Action, said that to give any one of the signers a place on the Democratic Presidential election ticket would be "committing the Democratic Party to a reversal of the Supreme Court decision."

**A FATEFUL DIVISION:** The N.Y. Post (3/13) said the manifesto was a "declaration of war" that could not be evaded by the Democrats. It noted the signatures of Alabama's John Sparkman, the party's 1952 Vice Presidential candidate, and Fulbright, mentioned as a possibility this year. "Every Democratic aspirant for high office," declared the **Post**, "must ... indicate what he proposes to do" about the "fatefully divided" Democratic party. It said that soft-pedaling the civil rights issue in the interest of "party harmony" has not restrained "most of the Southern Congressional delegation," that its manifesto was "a blunt announcement that appeasement of the Southern bloc has failed."

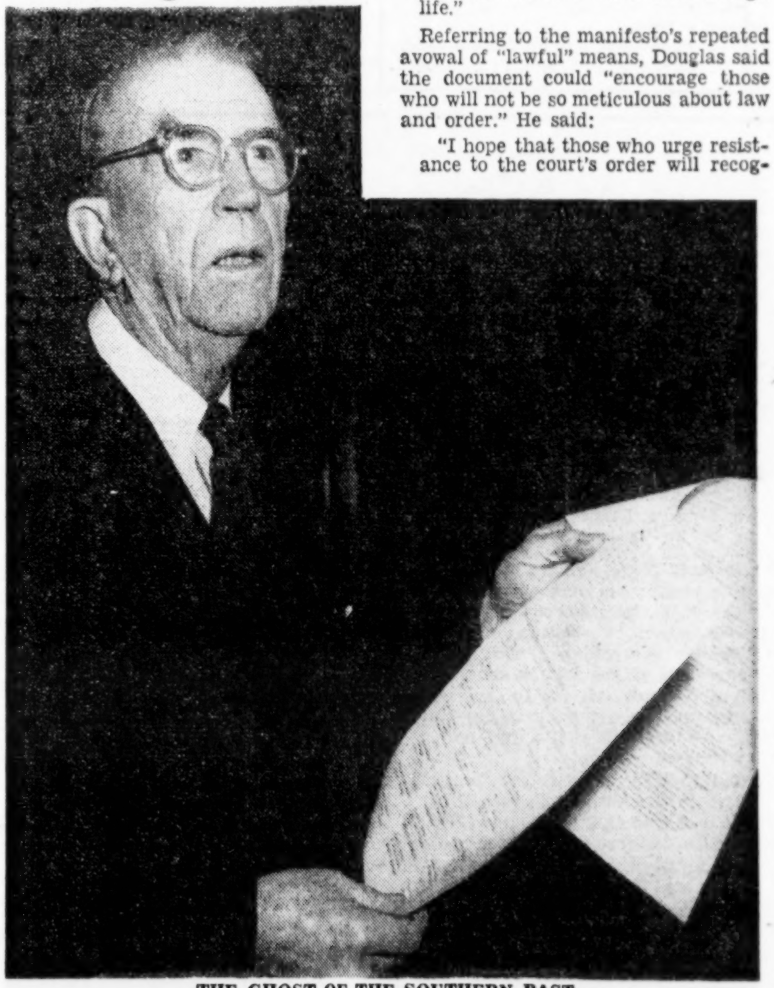
Clifford Case (N.J.) was the first Senate Republican to speak against the manifesto. Despite the fact that the declaration "is responsive to the present feelings of many people in the Southern states," Sen. Case said, the Supreme Court is and must continue to be the ultimate "determination" of all questions involving interpretation of the Constitution.

**CALL TO THE PRESIDENT:** Sen. Richard L. Neuberger (D-Ore.) saw the manifesto as representing a

"... developing crisis ... so grave [and holding] such danger to our country both at home and in the eyes of the world [that] it is incumbent on the President to use the great resources of leadership inherent in his office to stop this growing crisis before incalculable damage has been done."

Michigan's Democratic Sen. Pat McNamara said that though the declaration "may not be outright sedition, it certainly is subversive in its intent to undermine the integrity of the judicial system of this nation." He added:

"This document charges that the action of the Supreme Court is ... planting hatred and suspicion where there has been friendship and understanding. The Negro who is denied the right to vote, who is murdered by white men, who is barred from educational facilities because of his color—he understands the system but he has no friendship. It is the system he seeks to destroy."



THE GHOST OF THE SOUTHERN PAST
*Rep. Howard W. Smith (Act) holds a copy of the manifesto*

THE MAN WHO TALKED BACK

# Hinton half-million suit charges larceny by Senate

IN AN UNUSUAL damage suit for $500,000 filed last week, the entire membership of the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security, headed by Sen. James O. Eastland (D-Miss.), and Secy. of the Treasury George M. Humphrey were charged with larceny.

The action was taken by William H. Hinton of Putney, Vt., who is suing for return of papers, correspondence, photographs, books and posters which he charges were illegally taken from him when he returned to this country from China in 1953. Hinton, an agriculturist who studied at Harvard and Cornell, spent 6½ years in China as a tractor technician first for UNRRA and later for the People's Republic State Farm Management Bureau. His priceless collection of papers, which he planned to use in writing a book on modern China, weighed 78 pounds and filled a small trunk.

**LICENSE GRANTED, BUT . . .:** The material was seized by the Customs Service, administered by the Treasury Dept., as "foreign propaganda." The Customs Service, in a free-wheeling interpretation of the Foreign Assets Control Law, informed Hinton that the only way he could get his property back was to obtain an import license for it. Such a license was finally granted him in May, 1955, but before he could get to Washington to take possession of his material he was informed by the Treasury Dept. that the Eastland Committee had "taken possession" of it.

Hinton had been subpenaed before the committee in the summer of 1954. Under the threat of the damage suit which was filed on March 19, he was recalled before the committee on March 6 this year for a three-day grilling which ended in a rout of the Senators.

**ON THE OFFENSIVE:** Mr. Hinton was understandably indignant and was not impressed by the full treatment accorded him—total coverage by press, radio and TV with some of his posters and photographs mounted on large bulletin boards. As soon as he was sworn in he took the offensive. He demanded of Sen. Herman Welker (R-Ida.), who was conducting the questioning, an explanation of the misappropriation of his property, its immediate return, and discipline for those who seized it. When Sen. Welker replied that the problem before the committee was one of internal security, Hinton said:

"I am interested in internal security too and I want to know when this committee is going to start investigating its chairman and the widespread defiance of the Supreme Court that Eastland is organizing throughout the South."

Sen. Eastland got up and stalked out of the room.

Hinton then read to Sen. Welker the Fourth Amendment to the Constitution, which states:

"The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched and the person or things to be seized."

**JENNER GOES TOO:** Hinton was a rough witness. When Sen. William E. Jenner (R-Ind.) took a hand in the grilling, Hinton's retort was enough to make him stalk out of the room also. Hinton not only refused to answer questions, but refused also to identify material supposedly taken from his trunk on the grounds that the committee under Sen. McCarthy had become famous for falsification of documents and photographs.

Hinton disputed the authenticity of some photographs introduced in evidence. When Sen. Welker demanded: "Is it your testimony that those photographs were not in your footlocker?" Hinton replied: "I rather think you planted them there."

**BACK IN IDAHO:** By the third day of the hearings the big show had dwindled to the point where most of the press was absent and Sen. Welker himself gave up when Hinton demanded:

"Do you really think you are getting yourself re-elected by this kind of show? . . . What will the people of Idaho say when they learn that you have been wasting time here during the entire week that the farm bill was being debated on the Senate floor?"

Although the committee had promised to restore Hinton's property to him following the hearings, Sen. Welker at the end refused to do so. The committee counsel argued with him about it, but the Senator was heard to say:

"No, he hurt my feelings and I won't give him the papers."

So now he and his colleagues face a $500,000 lawsuit.

WILLIAM H. HINTON
*He was unkind to Herman*

### Hear! Hear!

MORE AND MORE concerns are announcing cutbacks in production, and an increasing number of workers are being laid off, put on short time or deprived of overtime.

While the inflationary trend has not by any means been reversed, these developments mean that the Government's steps are producing results. . . .

Another goal was to cut consumer spending, which also had increased import demand. Restrictions on installment buying and higher taxes on many consumer items were already reducing demand. Now the earnings of thousands of workers are falling.

—Thomas P. Ronan from London to the **N. Y. Times.** Feb. 29, 1956.

# Tabitha Petran

*(Continued from Page 1)*

which the London **Times** (3/6) saw it evolving, the perspectives opened for French diplomacy by Pineau's initiatives are nonetheless real.

**VALET NO LONGER:** Pineau's goal is not to break with NATO (he has frequently asserted France's "loyalty" in that respect) but rather to put an end to the situation in which France had become the valet of the Atlantic Alliance. This involves, among other things, trying to weaken U. S. dominance in NATO and to swing it toward a more political and economic orientation. (Italy's President Gronchi holds similar views.)

Pineau's is a personal diplomacy. A courageous fighter in the resistance, a man of large ambitions, he commands more authority than does Premier Mollet (although this does not necessarily say very much). In his efforts to restore French prestige and in his apparent readiness to reach a realistic live-and-let-live settlement with the U. S. S. R. (and also with the Communists at home, some leftists here believe), Pineau is speaking for an important section of French capitalism which is becoming increasingly anti-American. His foreign policy views are also shared by some bourgeois groups with links to the Vatican.

Pineau's moves are, among other things, designed to compensate for France's worsening situation in N. Africa. The problem of Algeria dominates France, poisoning its whole atmosphere. The answer to the question whether France's "spring" will prove true or false may lie, in large part, in Algeria.

**UNITY OF ACTION:** Parliament's overwhelming vote of confidence giving Mollet extraordinary power to deal with the Algerian situation has this significance: 300 out of the 450 votes for Mollet's demand—the "majority of the majority" as **Liberation** put it—consisted of the Communists, Socialists, Radicals, whose common aim is a peaceful and democratic solution in Algeria. This was forcefully emphasized during the Parliamentary debate; many of Mollet's interventions had a similar cast. Thus the vote, backed by a slowly developing Communist-Socialist unity of action at a rank-and-file level—put into Mollet's hands the power with which to defeat the "ultras" (rightists in France and Algiers) who demand an all-out policy of force. But whether Mollet will so use this power is another question.

He has said that he demanded the "special powers" not for military reasons but to effect social, economic and political reforms. But his record is one of appeasement of the "ultras." His dismissal of Gen. Catroux as Resident General signified to the Arab world that France had abandoned any idea of conciliation, a fact badly understood here, according to **Le Monde** (3/13). His Resident General Lacoste subscribes to a policy of "massive reinforcements." Mollet's own promises to strengthen French forces in Algeria (half of France's land army is now in N. Africa) are already being carried out, while even under the best circumstances reforms take time and their effects are long term.

**A DIFFICULT SITUATION:** In this situation, direct negotiations between the French Government and representatives of the Algerian national movement—seemingly the only possible way a cease fire could be achieved—are enormously difficult. The difficulty is compounded by the French claim that there is no one with whom to negotiate; and by the aggressiveness of the "ultras" whose strategy is to block and undermine negotiations, while pushing the government to intensify the terror. If they are successful, the situation will, sooner or later, degenerate into all-out war. On the heels of the Parliamentary vote, the ultras presented an ultimatum demanding execution by March 21 of prisoners condemned to death and are reported preparing a new "Feb. 6" demonstration in Algeria.

A strong popular front government could probably defeat this strategy. But the deep hostility of Mollet and the Socialist leadership to the Communists and the Popular Front makes such a development—at least in time to "save" the Algerian situation—highly unlikely. In its absence, the passive resistance of the French people who don't want to pay more taxes (the war in Algeria already costs as much per day as did the war in Indo-China), or see their sons dying in N. Africa, could act as a brake on the application of the policy of force. The general view here, however, is pessimistic.

Yet as Pineau returned to France from his S. E. Asia and Middle East talks, there was no concealing French pride that its diplomacy, moribund so long, was once again on the move. Contradictory as this may be to France's policy in N. Africa, Pineau's talks with Nehru and Egypt's Nasser seemed to suggest an awareness of the rising importance of this great area in world affairs—which is already splintering the former so-called East-West division of the world.

**THAT OLD BURDEN:** In N. Africa, France is attempting to hold back a fast developing sense of national unity, which is part of the revolutionary tide beating against the positions of Western imperialism from Morocco to the Persian Gulf. Although in London, Mollet and Eden purported to stand shoulder to shoulder against this tide, the differences remain and France, it is believed, can hardly align itself too closely with an Anglo-American policy staggering from one defeat to another. The mounting divisions and growing disorder among the Western colonial powers was dramatically underlined by the angry British reaction to Washington's displeasure over British deportation of Archbishop Makarios from Cyprus.

**Le Monde** (3/11), commenting on the troubles of the imperialist powers in the Mediterranean area, said: "Kipling's 'white man' is still carrying his burden, but clearly he no longer knows what he is carrying or where he is going." If Britain and France are fighting in the dark for positions they consider vital, Washington's policy from here resembles that of a man trying to ride two horses which are veering in opposite directions. Its every move tends to contribute to mounting W. European sentiment for a measure of independence from U. S. control. It is in this overall and complex context that Pineau's efforts to speak in the name of the French national interest—however tentative they may be at present—begin to take on international significance.

Humanite, Paris

**Seventy-three workers and foremen of the press room of the Paris edition of the N. Y. Herald Tribune last month demanded: "Formation of a Popular Front government with the full strength of the left in order to safeguard secularism [in the schools] end the war in Algeria and for bettering the life of the workers."**

BOOKS

# Life in America

*Go to the people, live among them, learn from them, love them, serve them, plan with them, start with what they know, build on what they have.* —Ancient Chinese

MORALLY ARMED with this beautiful philosophy, physically equipped by a lifetime of living the good life in utmost simplicity, Helen and Scott Nearing, social scientists, went to the people.

For 486 winter days they were away from home (a comfortable farm in Maine), traveling 50,000 miles through 47 states. They held 600 meetings and get-togethers (sometimes two people) and spoke in all to 30,000 people. They traveled in a station wagon loaded with books, pamphlets and periodicals (the GUARDIAN was there), stayed mostly in low-priced hotels or overnight cabins, eating mostly, when they were not asked to share a table, simple foods they bought and stored in the bottom drawer of a bureau lined with clean newspaper.

SCOTT NEARING

**THE DANGERS WE FACE:** Their journeys took place in 1952-53 and in 1953-54, with a trip to Europe in between. What impelled them to lead this "gypsy life of one-night stands?" They answer: "Only a situation which we considered and still consider urgent." And they add:

"If the information and suggestions contained in this volume inform and arouse even a small portion of the American people to the dangers with which they are confronted, the trips and the report will have been worth the time and effort put into them."

It was. The Nearings have produced a book* that is exciting and frightening and hopeful at once. It presents a picture of a people whose life is increasingly becoming conventionalized by "patterned stimuli which almost surely results in patterned response"; a people "devoting their time, attention and energy chiefly to the enjoyment of physical sensations," chief among them being eating, drinking and "in an indiscriminate way sexual intercourse." And noise. They say:

"We found ourselves among a people obsessed by anxieties and fears, gripped by tensions, baffled by confusions and contradictions, plagued by uncertainty, and by a pervasive insecurity. They are more than plagued; they are harried."

**A NATION OFF BALANCE:** What has produced this sorry state? The Nearings go back to trace America's transition to an industrial economy and say that, as in Germany and Japan, it was accomplished in a single generation—unlike Britain and France. This was too explosive; it threw the nation off balance and produced excesses of all kinds. In the U.S., they say, the main characteristics of capitalist society—"competition, acquisition, violence"—have produced a situation that can be described as social cancer.

In the seat of power is the "USA Oligarchy" which has deliberately planned its actions toward an American fascism. It produced a cold war abroad as part of its campaign to lead the world, entered into alliances with the Right everywhere, attempted by undemocratic means to whip the American people into line. The years 1946-54 may be regarded, the Nearings say, as the years in which the oligarchy made its grand attempt —and failed.

**TOO MANY BLIND SPOTS:** The oligarchy over-reached itself and bumbled on its own ignorance. It did not—or could not—take into account the receptiveness of Eastern Europe to socialism, the emergence of China, the colonial revolutions of Asia which no power on earth could halt, the reluctance of Britain to go along with the oligarchy's madness.

And what developed at home? The Nearings say:

"Widespread indifference, a developing anxiety concerning the implications of this project for Americanization of the planet, a dawning recognition of the fantastic outlay of blood and treasure necessary to its fulfillment and a growing awareness of the futility, folly and wickedness of shedding blood and squandering treasure to make men richer and wielders of power more powerful. . . ."

The world is not going Washington's way, they say, and the tide is turning. It will continue to turn as more and more people "realize how thoroughly they have been sold down the river by vicious propaganda." They conclude:

"Eventually the tide of co-operative brotherhood will sweep the oligarchy out of power into oblivion, as the tides of history repeatedly have cleared the beaches for a new outlook and a fresh start."

**AN ACCURATE ESTIMATE?** As you can see, **USA Today** is not only a report; it is fact-finding interlaced with personal experience, history and opinion. The Nearings are forthright—so forthright that they may have overstated the desolate condition of the American people. If their estimate is accurate, then surely the American resistance, which encourages them so much, could not be gathering as they say it is. Perhaps, in their attempt to awaken America to the danger that certainly confronts it, they may have been a trifle too severe about its people.

The impression is also gained that the U. S. A. they saw and write about is largely middle America. There are only general references to the organizations of the workers and to the mood of American Negroes—fully accepting the fact that these groups have spilled over into all class categories.

But perhaps a reviewer asks too much. The Nearings are teachers and scientists. As such they limited themselves to a job at hand—a job which they have done with remarkable lucidity, integrity and interest.

What this reviewer would like to see them undertake next is a book with a theme taking off from **USA Today:** How does the American Left, in its present situation, organize itself to move with the turning tide?

—**James Aronson**

**USA TODAY, by Helen and Scott Nearing. Social Science Institute, Harborside, Maine. 288 pp.* **$3** *cloth; $2.25 paper.*


NEW YORK

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*POCKET-SIZE QUARTERLY*

## Feel like singing out?

IF YOU HAVE A SONG in your heart or fingertips, you will treasure the pocket-size quarterly publication **Sing Out,** which comes to special attention here and now because the current issue, Winter 1956, is its Fifth Anniversary issue. With such nationally known folk singers as Pete Seeger, Earl Robinson, Ernie Lieberman, Jenny Wells Vincent and others among its contributors, **Sing Out** is the foremost folksay publication in existence.

In its five years it has published some 400 songs (including "our share of lemons," as the foreword to this issue says) but in the main the best "finds" and new writing in the field. In addition to a dozen or more songs in each issue, authoritative articles on the origin and lore of folksinging are also regular features, and the "mailbag" regularly includes letters from all over the world.

**THE CONTRIBUTORS:** The Fifth Anniversary issue (Vol. 1, No. 6) leads off (we of the GUARDIAN are proud to note) with a song with music by Clyde R. Appleton and words by Aaron Kramer, which first appeared as a poem in the GUARDIAN last year. It is called "Blues for Emmett Till." Also, our own Malvina Reynolds of Berkeley, Calif., is a regular contributor. Along with Waldemar Hille, Al Moss and Betty Sanders and others already mentioned here, she is thanked by the editors for songs, suggestions, criticisms and "continuing interest."

**Sing Out** is $2 a year, $3 for two years, 50c a single copy, from People's Artists, Inc., 124 W. 21st St., New York 11, N. Y. Also, for $1 you can get from People's Artists the 40th Anniversary "Songs of Joe Hill," published last November, with a foreword by playwright Barrie Stavis, author of the now world-famous play and biography of the song-writing labor martyr, **The Man Who Never Died.** This songbook continues the tradition of the historic "Little Red Songbook" published periodically by the Industrial Workers of the World with Joe Hill's songs as the main content during the labor struggles of the early years of the century. —**J. T. M.**

### Dr. Nathan talks on "Economic Stability"

OTTO NATHAN, professor of economics, will speak on Thursday night, April 5, on the topic: "Is Economic Stability Feasible?" The lecture, part of a series entitled "Topics in Contemporary Science," is under the auspices of the New York Branch of the American Assn. of Scientific Workers. It will be given at Carl Fischer Concert Hall Sky Room, 165 W. 57th St., New York, at 8:15 p.m.

### Down with it

CLEVELAND, O.

If war is hell, to Hell with war,
To Hell with all who crave it.
When masters rule the world no more
We'll need no wars to save it.

Chester M. Cadle

SEND NO MONEY

# On being sick in Warsaw

By Ursula Wassermann
Special to the Guardian

WARSAW

THIS IS NOT ACCORDING TO SCHEDULE, for I had certainly not intended to start off by telling you what it's like to be sick in Warsaw, but then my illness was not according to schedule either. Nor was the weather.

Having arrived here almost directly from the sunshine of Israel into one of the coldest European winters of the century, my lungs had little chance for adjustment and they did not take kindly to the icy blasts. Within a week I was good and sick and laid up in my hotel room.

I wondered what to do about seeing a doctor. I didn't know the language. In desperation I telephoned the Ministry of Foreign Affairs—after all, I was accredited as a foreign correspondent. Could they recommend a doctor who spoke English or French or German?

About lunch-time, a charming young woman arrived, all bundled up in a grey Persian lamb coat and a hat to match and high fur-lined boots up to her knees. She looked like a fashion plate in a women's magazine.

Drawing by Dyad, London
"VIVE LE PEUPLE!"

**MOSCOW TO JANE AUSTEN:** "Warsaw?" I asked, pointing to her coat. "Moscow," she smiled, "I did some post-graduate work there." She spoke French and we chatted a bit as she unbundled herself. She then proceeded to give me a pretty thorough examination.

"You have a bad congestion," she said and wrote out some prescriptions. "I'll send a nurse over to give you some treatment." The nurse arrived the following morning, carrying a case bulging with candles and salves and methylated spirits and some two dozen containers which looked rather like small brandy glasses. I must have looked puzzled. "Turn around," she suggestly kindly, "lie flat on your belly. This'll do you good."

She rubbed my back with alcohol and dotted it with dozens of little glass-cups. Cupping-glasses, I suddenly realized, and felt rather like a character out of one of Jane Austen's novels. "It's a little old-fashioned, isn't it?" I remarked. "But it is very effective," the nurse smiled. And effective it was—for after the treatment I could breathe freely for the first time in days.

I was given other medication as well, of course—penicillin and codeine and all the modern trimmings against bronchial pneumonia. The doctors and nurses who looked after me were attached to the Foreign Ministry's own clinic.

**A SUDDEN SHOCK:** Being sick is a bore. Being sick in a hotel room is a worse bore. I hadn't come to Poland to be sick. I wanted to get out and see things and do things and meet people and talk to them. Toward the middle of my second week in bed I was impatient. I worried about the waste of time and about my neglected work.

I felt very sorry for myself, until I suddenly realized that the one thing I wasn't worrying about was the very thing I had almost always worried most about when I had been ill before: money. Except for a few short years when I had been covered by the Health Insurance Plan in New York, the most demoralizing factor about illness had been the thought of doctor's bills, and nurses' fees, the high cost of medication.

How many times had a doctor's bill not been paid when a new visit became essential? How many people had foregone medical care rather than to get further into debt?

**CRADLE TO GRAVE:** I sat up almost with a start. This was indeed a novel experience. The question of money hadn't worried me because it never had been raised. It hadn't been raised because there was no such question. When I mentioned it to a friend, he looked rather puzzled. He had become so used to free medical care that for a moment he didn't know what I was talking about.

Every citizen of Poland, from cradle to grave, is entitled to complete and free health care. Adults are registered through their place of employment, children through their school. Large institutions and factories have their own clinics and medical staffs. However, for regular treatment patients are as a rule referred to their district clinic where complete specialist service is available. Patients in need of hospitalization or special treatment are referred to hospitals or rest-homes.

**SHORTAGE OF DOCTORS:** Medication is as yet not entirely free of charge but the charges are very modest indeed. What strikes one are the long queues both in pharmacies and health clinics. If the nation's health, after 11 years, is still suffering from the after-effects of war and occupation, it also suffers from the still severe shortage of medically qualified staff.

Before the war, 80% of Poland's population had never known any medical care; during the war, an entire generation of physicians was butchered by the Nazis. Poland's universities and medical schools today are doing everything they can to fill this gap, but it cannot be done overnight. As soon as I was allowed out of bed, I visited one of Warsaw's most modern hospitals, but of that another time.

My illness taught me one important lesson about People's Poland: It had banished the fear of illness. Isn't that one of the things Franklin D. Roosevelt meant when he spoke of Freedom from Fear?

BOOKS & PUBLICATIONS

DR. B. LIBER

has been a general physician since 1904 and a psychiatrist since 1925. He has had an interesting life in his childhood, in his student years and later, as a doctor, writer and educator. He has participated in advanced movements both in Europe and in this country and yet has always been independent in his ideas and actions. Now, over 80 years old, he has written a book he believes should be read by every one:

A Doctor's Apprenticeship
(Autobiographical Sketches)

This book deals mainly with the life around him and his contact with events of contemporary history. In addition to many generally instructive facts, it also contains practical teachings from the physical and mental health viewpoint and child upbringing.

There are about 620 pages and the price is

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# CALENDAR

## Chicago

**REV. WM. HOWARD MELISH, JR.** "Religion, Ethics and the USSR." Midland Hotel, 172 W. Adams. Fri., April 6, 8:15 p.m. Adm. $1. Chicago Council Amer.-Soviet Friendship

Two Years of the American Socialist: Hear **Bert Cochran**, Editor, American Socialist on "Ten Years of the Cold War: What's Ahead?" —Harvey O'Connor, distinguished author, "Civil Liberties in a Changing World"; Rev. William Baird, chairman. Fri., March 30, 8 p.m. Midland Hotel, 172 W. Adams St. Contribution: $1.

Choice Seats: Orchestra Hall recitals. May 7: **Mstislav Rostropovich**, Soviet Cellist. May 18: **Pete Seeger & Weavers**, folksingers. Call AN 3-1877 or come to Suite 403, 189 W. Madison.

## Detroit

**KUMAR GOSHAL** speaks on "The World Since Bandung," plus exclusive films on the Bandung Conference and Premier Nehru's tour of the USSR. Sun., April 8. 8 p.m., at 18266 Coyle, nr. Outer Drive. Admission: Free.

## Los Angeles

**DR. W. E. B. DuBOIS**, eminent Negro educator-publicist; V.-Chmn. Council on African Affairs; Atlanta U. prof., 1897-1910, 1933-4; NAACP Publications Director, editor of CRISIS, 1910-32; author, "Souls of Black Folk," "Color and Democracy," "John Brown," speaks Fri., April 6, 8 p.m., on **"STATES RIGHTS AND RACIAL WRONGS."** Adm. $1. 2936 W. 8th St. UNITARIAN PUBLIC FORUM.

## Minneapolis, Minn.

**TEN YEARS OF THE COLD WAR: WHERE ARE WE GOING**: Speaker: Bert Cochran; Chairman, David Herreshoff. Tues., April 3, 8 p.m. University YMCA, 1425 University Av., S.E., Room 301. Auspices: American Socialist.

## San Francisco

**DR. W. E. B. DuBOIS** speaks against SACB witch-hunt attack on the California Labor School, Fri., April 13, 8 p.m., Hotel Whitcomb. Entertainment. Robert W. Kenny, chairman. Auspices: Comm. for Defense of Academic Freedom.

## New York

**CLUB CINEMA** (430 Sixth Av.) **"MR. EMMANUEL,"** March 24. Heart-warming film that challenges the pre-war racial arrogance of Germany. Showings: Sat. only, 8:30 and 10 p.m. Adm.: Members, $1; non-members, $1.25. Next week: **ALICE IN WONDERLAND** (with Lou Bunin's puppets).

**24TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION.** Brighton Community Center, 3200 Coney Island Av., B'klyn. Sat., March 31, 8:30 p.m. Israeli songs, dances, music. Shoshana, opera soprano; Abraham Elber, dancer; Rachel Hadass, folk music; Amitia Neeman, composer; M. Kagen on guitar & oriental drums. Subscription: $1.50.

**SUN., MARCH 25, 7 P.M.** Beulah Richardson, poet and actress, will be guest artist in magnificent brotherhood program. Edith Segal, well-known teacher of folk dancing, will lead dancing class at Jewish Peoples Philharmonic Chorus, 189 2d Av. (2d floor).

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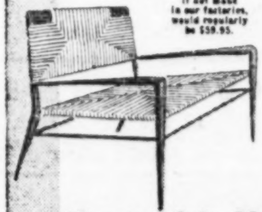

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# the SPECTATOR

## *Madison Av. Meatheads*

IF YOU'VE BEEN WONDERING what ever happened to double-talk comedians, we've got the answer for you. They're deep in Madison Avenue shaping the commercials that assault innocent culture-seekers via the TV screen.

Time was when a good double-talk artist could count on a fair income from night club and theater engagements—maybe even a movie bit. But now those markets are closed to him. So the man with the mixed-up words has donned grey flannel and tortures the English language with a straight face. His income may be smaller but the work, unfortunately, is steady.

Recently two commercials followed each other on a major network. One pitched an amazing cold-fighting drug containing "bio-flavinoid." The other screamed the praises of a toothpaste enhanced by "fluoristan." Shades of Cliff Nazzaro! Visions arise of a mass people's campaign with slogans like "Seat Fluoristan in the UN!" or "Free Bio Flavinoid!"

Wall St. Journal

**THE BRAIN CENTER:** Verbal contortions are not the exclusive property of hucksters. That dour columnist David Lawrence in the N.Y. **Herald Tribune** recently credited "Madison Avenue" with full responsibility for U.S. "prosperity and full employment." The canyons of canned culture, he said, were the brain center of the U.S.A.

Straight talk on Madison Avenue is rare, but when the hucksters untwist their tongues the results can be interesting. Recently one tongue became untwisted. It belonged to Charles Harrell, TV commercials supervisor for a big advertising agency, and the occasion was a New York University forum for would-be advertising men. Harrell said:

"I am a professional salesman. And the thing you must remember is the guts of television as it stands today. Sure, the programs stink. . . . But they are used solely as instruments of salesmanship."

**BOY, WHAT A LOUSE:** He said that his function was to tell people to "brush your teeth with my product, smoke my cigaret, wear my shoes, put on my hat, think my thoughts if necessary. And how dangerous a position I have . . . because I could use the same device for non-constructive ends.

"So you say to me, 'How can you be such a louse?' And I say, "It's easy, because the basic position of the advertising man is: Does my product do the job better than another product?' . . . Now you say, 'Is it a good product?' And I have to think whether it is a good product, and this is where the will to tell the delightful lie takes hold.

". . . What is it that makes a Gillette blade better than Pal or Gem or another blade? Maxon [the advertising agency] does.

"We are practioners. . . . We are hired and paid to merchandise the merits of a product. . . We are not concerned as advertising men with the basic value . . . of human endeavor.

". . . Do you draw the line at moral values, political values, social values? Not at all. I happen to be a left-wing New Deal Democrat. And I have made a lot of money from the Natl. Assn. of Manufacturers, and I did all of the broadcasts for Dewey for President—and contributed the money to the radio fund for F.D.R.

"The advertising business is fantastically large . . . involves billions. . . . The meatheads are innumerable. I am one of them. I am only trying to be less of one than my employers."

**NOT APPRECIATED:** Meatheads his employers may have been; but they were at least as candid as he. Harrell was fired when the speech was reprinted by the trade journal **Broadcasting-Telecasting** (Feb. 13, 1956).

—**Robert E. Light**

P.S. Naturally none of the above applies to GUARDIAN advertisers.

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